THE

"HINDU MESSAGE"

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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The **Hindu Message** stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision Of India.

THE GODAVARI—III.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

And Sita said in sweet reply: "I see
With joy and love her well-remembered face,
Her fair foam-garments white with sinuous grace
As she with coy and bashful witchery
From her far mountain-home of mystery
She hastes beneath the glow of summer days
Like a happy bride in gems and silks and lace
To her bright Ocean-God in girlish glee.
And here, my Lord, forgetful of thy throne
And thy great vow to rid the earth of ill
And e'en thy chosen lovers rapt in prayer
Who loving thee all other loves disown,
You bent to my love's rule thy sovereign will
And made me queen of thy love's empire fair."

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 11, JULY, 1918.

Indian Students and Military Training.

Should Military training form part of the regular education of students? There are two grounds put forward by those who favour the proposal. *First*, the present war is one in which the entire Empire of Great Britain is interested,—for Great Britain has entered upon it as a champion of the principles of righteousness and international fair dealing. President Wilson of the United States has called it "the first unselfish war in history." The Allied Nations of the world who are opposed to the Central Powers in Europe hold that international treaties and obligations should be regarded as sacred and not as "mere scraps of paper" to be torn to tatters at the earliest opportunity in order to promote national interests and power by unjust aggression. In such a war it is to the eternal glory of India that she is permitted to take her legitimate share. No doubt the Government of India has hitherto failed to recognise her duty to India in this matter of the military training of her citizens. But now she is fully alive to this duty and wants to gather recruits on the voluntary system and train them to take part in the present war during its future course. *Secondly*, the war is still expected to last for a long time, and Germany might extend her operations to India. Indians, then, should at least make themselves ready for defending their hearths and homes against the invading hosts of German barbarism. Nothing can be a more sacred duty for Indians than to defend their hearths and homes against the invader. On this depends the maintenance of our civilisation and its ideals, the honour of our women, and our good name in the eyes of posterity. It is necessary that all young and stalwart Indians should receive military training so as to be able to offer a stout defensive resistance to the unscrupulous Huns who have wantonly disturbed the peace of the world.

Both these grounds apply to the young men and fit who are studying in our schools and colleges as well as to those outside who are stalwart and strong. In the history of revolutions in Modern Europe, young and ardent minds have invariably played a memorable part, and one which has been found worthy of record in history. With the introduction of modern education and ideas into India, we shall perhaps find that the march of events makes it necessary that, for purposes of defence at least, the country may require that young Indian students may take their own share in the rendering of help for the mother-land. Even as matters are, Indian Society has now for some years recognised that modern education and athletic training should go together. Under the ancient system of education, students had not the same multiplicity of subjects to study, so many hours of study at school and at home, or so many difficult examinations to undergo, as fall to the lot of their modern compeers. Hence the discipline of the body then prescribed as part of the student's आह्निक or daily life was a comparatively mild one. But now we have a variety of sports and games

having for their object to secure such stalwartness in our students as will help their bodies and minds to stand the rigid requirements of the present educational system. The *athletic* modern student, therefore, can easily acquire the military training which will give him the martial spirit required to face an enemy in fight, and therefore, we entirely approve of the agitation which has been started to secure such training as a part of the regular education imparted in schools and colleges.

The question arises,—whether it is consistent with the aims and methods of Hindu civilisation, even as it is, that such a training should be given. Our reply is that the modern world is sick of the ideals and aims of the militant civilisation and the militarism which has made the present universal strife possible. There is now a pacific spirit abroad everywhere, and thinking men are anxious to bring about a social and mental transformation which will make for the reign of peace and good-will everywhere among the world's peoples. At such a time, it is natural that men should turn their minds towards the framing of a system of education whose principles and aims are far other than those which have led to the existing system. Hence, the demand now made for military training as a part of the regular education of students can only be intended as a temporary movement or measure,—that is, to serve the existing conditions of strife in the world, and not the inherent ideals and the underlying purposes of Hindu civilisation. The Hindus have always been a peaceful people. National aggression and exploitation are foreign to the genius of Hinduism. We have ever practised the ideal of the harmony of all human faiths, and have stood forth for the principle of the solidarity of man. While recognising war as a necessary evil, we have made it the *Dharma* of the Kshatriyas, and not their वृत्ति or means of livelihood. Hence, military training is to be confined only to a small section of the Hindu community. Universal military training, whether on the voluntary or the compulsory system, is inconsistent with the aims of Hindu society or the Hindu religion. Hindu education only aims at securing the spiritual progress and perfection of man's living personality, and such daily discipline as is prescribed for the body is only meant to advance that ulterior purpose or principle, and not to secure a merely temporal advantage to the individual or the society. When the war ceases, and when men are in search of a system of education and training which will make for the reign of peace and good-will among men, no one will think of making military training a part of the regular education given to students in schools and colleges. Hence, we regard the present proposal as a purely temporary make-shift to meet the passing needs of the hour when we may, at any moment, be called on to defend our hearths and homes against an enemy who still persists in pursuing his demoniacal aim of "Germanising" the world through what is called a *German peace*.

When a saner and humaner temper reigns on earth, there will be no need to convert a whole community or nation into a military caste, as the Germans and the French have done, and as the British are now compelled to do in imitation of them. It is the German military madness and the predatory

instincts of modern civilisation that have made God's earth a curse and a hell to mankind. Let Europe abandon the Machiavellian gospel of Mammon, and let America strive to secure the gospel of self-determination for all peoples, as the sure result of the ending of the present troubles. Then there will be no need whatever of converting all communities into effective war-machines for purposes of slaughter and devastation, and no need of universal military training either for all young men or for even all such of them as seek admission into schools and colleges in order to secure a scientific or technical training which will fit them to earn their livelihood.

Moral Progress in India.

The present world-war and its gigantic and unprecedented violations of the moral law recognised by civilised men and of the international law recognised by civilised nations has produced a pessimistic spirit in many well-known circles which is altogether a strange phenomenon in European history. A leading English writer of to-day—Mr. L. P. Jacks, the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal*—says:—"Morally considered, we are still in a neolithic age, not brutes indeed any longer, and yet not so far outgrown the brutish stage as to justify these trumpetings,"—*i.e.*, those usually indulged in by the admirers and champions of modern civilisation He says especially of modern states:—"In their relations with one another they display qualities which would disgrace the brutes. And the worst of it is that at times these states drag down to their low level the morality of the individuals belonging to them."

How does Mr. Jacks explain this state of things? He writes:—"The impression has gone abroad that the nations of the world need to take *one step only* from the position where they now stand to accomplish the final unity of all mankind." From small states they became big states, from big states they became empires. Each empire wants to join up all empires and imperial states into a single world-state or universal empire which is to be their suzerain. Germany wants to Germanise the world, as France to Frenchify or England to Anglicise or America to Americanise the world, under its suzerainty. Germany is the first to fight for the achievement of a universal German empire so that she may henceforth have no enemy states, actual or possible. There is no doubt that she will fail, but it is doubtful whether she will be the last to make the attempt

For, this conception or ideal of progress is a most deceptive one If we consider certain provinces only of human activity, instead of comprising human activity as a whole within our purview, there is no doubt that progress will emerge as an unquestionable fact. The advance of science, for example, has made man secure of his growing power over the forces of nature. Again, the progress of the mechanical arts has largely increased the wealth of the world,—and this vast and unbounded increase of wealth has resulted in an immense increase of the world's population. Lastly, great advances have been made in the organisation of government and in the subordination of the interests of individuals to the common interests of the entire people organised as a state. All these separate and sectional ad-

vances just referred to have made men indulge the confident belief and hope that, as a result of those partial advances, the civilised world has made and is making a great advance in moral progress. But now there has come a rude awakening owing to the war. Men have now, on careful inquiry, come to the conclusion that the belief in the moral progress of humanity hitherto cherished turns out to be a delusion and a snare. For, all the scientific advances hitherto made has only had the result of applying scientific knowledge to the invention of the most diabolical and destructive implements of modern warfare. Again, the vast increase in the world's wealth has not had the effect of raising the standard of living so as to check the growth of population and thereby to ensure the maintenance of a higher style of comfortable and pure living among all. Its one result has been to give a great impulse to the growth of population. The mere growth in the number of human beings living together in any state, or on the earth taken as a whole, is no evidence of true progress *in general* or of moral progress *in particular*, with which we are here directly concerned. Unless we can be convinced by incontrovertible facts that men in general are on the whole more happy, more virtuous, more attentive to the needs of all around them, more ready to help their neighbours to live the same kind of life and maintain the same standards of good living as they do themselves, we cannot conclude that the mere increase of wealth and population is a matter for congratulation or a reliable evidence of true progress. Lastly, "government is not an end in itself," or at least it is mainly a means to the living of life according to the highest standards of virtue and happiness. Where this is not the case, mere progress towards unity of political organisation is no proof of any real moral progress having been attained by the common consciousness and will of the people who have attained to such unity. The common will or collective wisdom of the people organised as a state is not also at present such as to show that the relations between states are governed by any standard or law which will testify to moral progress. On the other hand, the present world-war has shown, as we stated in the beginning, that men are—as Mr. Jacks, the writer we have first quoted has shown—"still in the neolithic stage" as regards their standard and practice of morality and that they still remain in a state not much higher than the brutish stage in their international relations. In fact there has been no moral progress worth the name among mankind at large. Men recognise, indeed that there has been a vast deterioration in the standard of morality and that it is fraught with disaster to the welfare of humanity in the present as already the world can bear witness today in the incidents of the war as it progresses from stage to stage,—and also for the future of the world.

The Indian sages have long ago declared that this Kali age will be one of decline in Dharma. Dharma has been compared to a bull which is henceforth to limp on in the world with but one foot only. Much ridicule has been poured upon this Hindu idea of human degeneracy in the future of the world's history, and men have triumphantly pointed to the steady advance made by Western men in

science, art, and industry, and in the organisation of government. But the Hindu sages have declared their conviction and belief that Dharma or morality at least will and must decline. But morality is so fundamental a feature in human society that its decline means the utter futility of advances in all other directions. When man's ethical ideals and activities are in a state of decay, progress in other directions ceases to furnish any contribution to human happiness. For, happiness is to be found only in the mind of man and when this source of man's happiness is corrupted by the falling into decay of human morals, no mere external acquisitions, no change in the conditions of the environment, can compensate for it. The Hindus have always held that all joy, all peace, and all perfection is in the Self, and that even when an external event happens which seems to have the attribute of joy or peace attached to it, it is really to be attributed to the inherent joy of the Self welling up through the interstices of the human heart when the incessant tossing and disturbance of the waves of the *Chitta* (mind-stuff) are for a moment stilled by the happening of such an event.

Now the eternal Dharma is prescribed by the Vedas and the Rishis as the means for reaching the stillness of the mind just spoken of, for gaining this purity and freedom of the human heart from what is known as *kartritva* and *bhoktritva* (activity and enjoyment.) Every one thinks that he is the active agent in all the achievements of life, and that he is the enjoyer of the pleasures derived therefrom. So long as the living human soul indulges in these ideas, he cannot escape the cycle of rebirths. The ideal of *nivritti*,—the giving up of all attachment to the life of the world as the active agent (*karta*) and enjoyer (*bhokta*) in all matters of importance—is the true and only ideal of Hinduism. But as such a life is only possible to the few souls in a high state of spiritual development, the path of *pravritti* (or activity) is prescribed for all others. But it ought to be adapted to the stage of development reached by the living soul, and lived strictly in accordance with the laws and conditions appertaining to each stage and laid down in detail in the sacred authorities. These laws of *nivritti* and *pravritti*—the sacred injunctions constituting them—constitute the Hindu ethical code. We have no ethical standards or tests—no "methods of ethics"—founded on reason or experience—for forming ethical judgments regarding men's conduct, but we have only so many distinct rules and maxims of conduct laid down by the Indian sacred authorities. For example let us take the institution of marriage. We have in India no historical stages or steps of progress in marriage from polyandry to monogamy, but we have the eternal and permanently valuable sacred injunctions regarding it which remain the same from age to age. The Dharma of the Hindus is eternal and immutable. Dharma does not change like modern *laws* with a change in the views of the ruler or pass away altogether with the passing away of the ruler imposing them. A learned European writer says,—"With dogged intolerance the foolish majority raises its will to the dignity of law." Dharma is not law, but consists of the eternal rules of moratity discovered by Rishis like Yajnavalkya and Manu in the superconscious state of *Sampra-*

jnata-Samadhi. Hence it cannot undergo essential change, nor can it be destroyed. It is only in a state of greater or less manifestation in the world. There are times when Dharma advances, and there are also times when Dharma declines, in the estimation of men. The Bhagavad-Gita divides men into two classes,—those of *Daiva-Sampat* or divine nature and those of *Asura-Sampat* or demonic nature. There are times when the Daiva-Sampat is in the ascendant in the character of mankind and then Dharma prospers; there are also times when Asura-Sampat is similarly in the ascendant, and then Dharma declines. This is the only kind of progress or decline possible in regard to Dharma. It may advance or recede in the estimation of men, but Dharma can never either be transformed into its opposite, nor can it altogether die. All living souls are in process of slow evolution, and will some day be in a position to know and practise Dharma. If, in the course of evolution, the great majority of souls are in a position to practise Dharma, then we have an evolutionary advance of humanity and reach what, is known as the Krita-Yuga or Satya-Yuga. If this state of things is reversed then we have a process of degradation, and gradually pass into what is known as Kali-Yuga.

The present epoch is one of deterioration of Dharma. Sri Krishna once declared to his elder brother, Balarama, "Know thou that the Kali age is already come" Since then we have passed several stages on the downward path leading to the degradation and decline of Dharma. And now even in Europe great writers and thinkers hold that all the eulogiums hitherto passed on the present age as one of transcendent ethical progress were simply thoughtless and absurd, and they have now come to the unquestionable conclusion that "morally considered, we are not yet so far outgrown the brutish stage as to justify these trumpetings." If such is the condition of Europe to-day what chances of moral progress are possible for India in the future when she is bent on following the example set by Europe in reconstructing her own social and moral life." Already we see everywhere the bitter hatred of so-called Non-Brahmans towards the Brahmans resulting sometimes in deeds of violence and barbarism. We see men trying to bolster up unheard of racial distinctions between Dravidians and Aryans, though the arguments advanced in their favour have been shown times without number, to be altogether unsupported by evidence furnished in Indian literature, sacred or profane. We see factionists trying to undo the noble work of national unification achieved during a generation past by the National Congress and to sow the seeds of party dissensions and communal jealousies among people who for untold ages had lived in brotherly union and amity for the purest and most elevating of all human purposes. We cannot, therefore, hope for the achievement of moral aims by introducing the systems of polity and the economic ideals and institutions of the West,—systems and institutions which can only derive their vitality by the successful exploitation of the weaker societies and the barbaric peoples inhabiting the earth. The only hope of ethical advance for India and Europe,—for the East and the West—is to work for the solida-

rity of the human race through the recognition of the great truths of the omnipresence and omni-penetrativeness of God which Hinduism alone has taught to the world through the entire course of her history. Prof. Max Muller has said of the Vedanta that "it is the most sublime philosophy and the most satisfying religion." The sublimely rational truths of the Vedanta must be taught and sown broadcast everywhere and taught, too, in such a manner as to become a practical course of daily and hourly realisation in the life of each nation and community now inhabiting the earth. It may be that India alone by her past efforts and her steadfast faith in the cause of truth, is fitted to enlighten the understandings and consciences of men in this respect. But the great ideas, ethical and spiritual, of the Veda and the Vedanta must be accepted in Europe and America before India will find her true mission in the world and will endeavour to fulfil it to the best of her ability and in a measure adequate to the great opportunities before her. It is easy enough to talk of the inherent right of self-determination of all peoples on earth and the imperative need of forming a league of free nations in order to ensure a future of humanity nobler and more righteous than its past. But pious aspiration is not tantamount to practical accomplishment, and so the hope of the ethical evolution of humanity is inseparably bound up with the active propagation of the fundamental ideas and the unfailing practice of the sublime precepts of the Vedanta among all the civilised races of men throughout the world. Light again rises, or must rise, in the East, and must surely and rapidly travel westward awakening all slumbering consciences and understanding to the value and the power of the eternal truth and joy which is the Self of man, and one only without a second.

Notes and Comments.

Mr. A. S. Ramaiah, author of "Sri Krishna, The Soul of Humanity" has published in an advertisement in *The Hindu* a number of opinions eulogising his work. In our review on the other hand. we have condemned it rather severely. We have also seen some other unfavourable judgments of the work. Our complaint was, and is, that the author has misrepresented the facts and drawn upon his imagination very largely. We gave some instances. We will give one now, and it is taken at random. At p. 85, he calls Sri Krishna a "Non-Vedic teacher." But, in the Bhagavad-Gita Sri Krishna calls himself *Vedanta-krid*, and "*Veda-vid*," and this directly contradicts the author's view. In these days, men have very little time to read books critically. Moreover, men want only to find in books whatever they hold true, and then they are prepared to go into raptures concerning any work of any author. Even in Western countries, newspaper puffing is understood and accepted at its true value. Some high-placed men among us, too, care only to make themselves generally agreeable. We are, therefore, unable to estimate the value of a work simply by the number of the opinions of the press published in favour of it, or even by the high position occupied by some of those who have received an author's presentation-copies, and feel flattered by his recognition of their exalted position and status in life.

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Sister Nivedita stood up for a "militant and aggressive Hinduism, and now we have in Bombay a missionary movement for propagating Hinduism throughout the world. Such movements tend in the end to be not different from what is known as

"Christianity without Christ." We think that the world's propagandistic religions are largely responsible for the militancy and militarism which have for their aim the conquest and exploitation of weaker nations. The militant and aggressive temperament of man, when once it is roused, always tends to develop till it wants to absorb all assimilable matter available, and will either carry everything before it, or itself yield to external pressure and find its natural and necessary level. It has filled the world with fanaticism, bloodshed and misery, and is almost solely responsible for the bringing ou of the present critical epoch in its history and the dangers which beset all those higher ideals of civilisation for which our race has lived. We think, therefore, that Hinduism should never depart from its world-old ideals of harmony and brotherhood among religions and the solidarity of man. Human happiness in the future is bound up with the increase in the vogue and spread of these noble ideals, and Hindus can best serve God and man by marching ever under the same old banner and fulfilling the behests of the eternal standard-bearer who has entrusted to it " the guardianship of the treasury of Dharma."

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Most modern Indians think that in the West Men marry for love. Nothing can be a greater mistake. Only recently we read that "certainly many a man has married, because he wanted his household kept in order, his meals served regularly, and his buttons sewed on his shirts." The wife is, in all these cases, what has been aptly called "a combination housekeeper, cook, valet." In India, our object is simply and avowedly to maintain the continuity of the family. The Taittiriya Upanishad says :—"प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीः" "Do not break the continuity of the thread of family succession." Manu assigns as the functions of the Hindu housewife :—" to take care of wealth, to spend wealth carefully, to engage in all pure Dharmas, to have food properly cooked, and to take care of the household utensils." In India, too, women have the function of housekeeping, but they have also the important function of settling the standard of living in the house. In the actual practice of domestic life, there may be much degeneracy, but the ideal of woman's position in the Hindu household is high, and is still preserved in many homes. Says Manu :—"स्त्रियः श्रियश्च गेहेषु न विशेषोऽस्ति कश्चन" "In the (Hindu) home, there is uo difference whatever between the wife and Lakshmi (the goddess of prosperity)." The Hindus hold that the wife is the source of the prosperity of their homes. We have no hesitation in saying that, whether we consider our ideal of womanhood or the actual practice in all well-ordered house-holds, the Hindu need not believe that he is inferior to the European as regards the position of womankind in the home.

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An American Professor of the University of Chicago writes :—"A curious double standard obtains in college ethics. A boy who would scorn to cheat at his lessons will cut bases in a ball game if he thinks the umpire is not looking. The double standard is a blot on the human side of the College life and is encouraged by the pungent form of snub to the athlete who does not take advantage of opportunities to win and the exhilarating form of approbation of the athlete who can win by a trick." This double standard obtains througout social life in European countries, —not only in sports and games, but in war, in love, in diplomacy, in politics, national and international,—anywhere and everywhere. So long as men have not their places in society and social life settled by *status*, so long as no everlasting rules of Dharma are accepted as the only modes of righteous living applicable to the various branches of life, so long as the standards of morality vary according to time and place, we cannot avoid the evils of equivocation and double dealing. The snob alone succeeds everywhere, and fair dealing must continue to be simply non-existent. That is exactly what we see in modern life, and even in India we see the introduction of these new phenomena of life and conduct as the result of our contact with the West and the acceptance of Western ideals of civilisation.

Lord Haldane recently said to an interviewer that "education is the most important element in reconstruction after the war." The important thing to decide is,—what is to be the kind of education given? Any amount of scientific training and knowledge, any amount of training in art and industry, may be given. All such education is needed, and the world can never do without it. But that will not result in the transformation of man upon which all are now bent and which alone will enable humanity to lead a life of peace and good-will on earth. We want simultaneously an education which will reform the mental attitude of the individual towards the men, the life, and the world around him. That attitude will change only when men realise the difference between what is transient and what is permanent,—when men are made to scorn the ephemeral things of life and to live for the acquisition of spiritual merit and the realisation of the one Self which is the one Existence and Reality in all men, in all varieties of animal life, and in all the forms of matter around us. In ancient and mediæval India alone, the education given to all was such as to exalt the spirit above matter in the mind of all students,—whether they learned the Vedas and Smriti, the Upavedas, or the Vedangas which corresponded to science and art in the modern systems of education. All struggle and striving of man for superiority over fellow-man will cease only when education aims only at the gaining of a *perfection which is within each man and not outside.* So long as education is intended to equip man for what is called *the battle of life*, so long as men regard themselves as rivals who are to supplant each other in the *race of life*, so long as education is not of the kind that is needed to make each man regard every other as his brother and helper, the world will continue the hell it is at present, and strife and misery will be men's portion on earth. If peace and good-will is to prevail among men, the education of the spirit of man must again be taken up everywhere in right earnest, and all higher men must again make renunciation and self-conquest, and not the struggle for existence among men and its worldly gains, the purpose and goal of their life on earth.

Olla Podrida.

The war—the great unparallelled war, the like of which the world has not seen till now and may not see again, of which this wonderful age of refinement and culture has every reason to be proud, which is the noblest exhibition of the spirituality and self-sacrifice of Europe, which by itself and without any additional feature justifies Europe in claiming the ethical leadership of the world, and which entitles her to teach all other peoples how to order their social and political life aright—has affected the life of India in many cruel ways. But perhaps the most pathetic incident amidst the many harrowing scenes created by the war was the crushing to death of two girls in the rush for Kerosene oil at the Municipal depot at Calicut. Kerosene oil has hitherto taken its toll of eyes but with the help of the war fiend it is beginning to take its toll of lives.

* * *

The limits of conformity to the damands of the spirit of the age—is a fine subject to think upon. What is this spirit of the age with which orators frighten us or send us to the seventh heaven of joy? Just that ever-fluctuating sum of human follies and opinions and nothing more. If it is to become a fetish we shall all have our souls in mortmain because we can never change. We should never allow our craving for necessaries and luxuries to outrun our powers of production. The means of happiness are provided in bountiful amplitude by God. But we in our short-sighted folly imagine joy in all sorts of places and things and make ourselves miserable in our mad rush towards them.

* * *

In the theatres of war we see strange transformations of words and things. We are told that the next thrilling event of the war is to be a pitched battle of the tanks. So even tanks are being mobilised. Even words are getting mad in these mad days. By the bye why should not India send

some of her innumerable tanks to the war? Her men had long ago ceased to learn to fight. The modern Indians—the descendants of the warlike as well as the unwarlike, communities—are now learning to fight with the tongue and the pen, because some wise phrasemaker has said that the pen is mightier than the sword. So we must mobilise our tanks. This is a suggestion which I offer in all humility to Government.

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Some days ago Salem in meeting assembled forbade Mr. Tilak to go to England. The editor of New India forbade Salem to forbid. In promulgating his decree he said that some folk order other people's affairs for them and would even advise Ishwara how to carry on the governance of the world. I suppose editors are the only "chartered libertines" who can poke their noses into other people's affairs. Others have no business except to be poked into.

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Mr. G. S. A. is still carrying on his musings. Was it not Jerome K. Jerome that wrote a book called "sole thoughts of an unsole fellow." Mr. G. S. A. has added to his musings the new activity of "weaving on nature's loom." Was anybody weaving there before or is it a new invention newly offered to the world? Here is a precious sentence from the weaver. "Make them natural—according to Nature which is God. God is busy all day long—He is everywhere in His workshops of the world, creating, destroying, improving, harmonising, opposing, *dreaming is He too.*" He says again—"Life *sleeps* in the mineral, *dreams* in the vegetable, *awakens* in the animal, *hopes* in man, *knows* in kingdoms beyond." I suppose that this is the kind of teaching that the youths moulded by the S. P. N. E. will get.

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The Russian people—or rather peoples for there seem to be 70 millions of Russian communities, each community being one strong—are covering themselves with glory. Stohasnay, ex-commander of the Baltic fleet, has been sent by them to the other world because he did not command properly in this world. The Ex-Czar is now in the land of rumours. The Bolsheviks—what a beautiful name—are murdering the *people* to save the *nation.* The three Ks—Kerensky, Korniloff, and Kaledin—are now winning the war by mental operations.

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In the meantime Sir Subramania Iyer has shed his titles. But the most important incident in this connection is the busy building of new names for him in the dockyards of Indian minds. These dockyards are far busier than the arsenals and dockyards of Europe. Mahatma, Lokottama, Swami, etc. etc. etc. are coming pouring from east and west and north and south. One peculiar admirer wants his statue to be placed in a prostrate condition in some temple because he is a great *bhakta* !!! A new Secretariat must be formed to deal with this problem created by the war.

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On 30th June 1918 there was a sound of revelry and rejoicing in the camps of the rikshawallas of Madras. The capital of Madras had gathered then its beauty and its chilvalry and brightly shone the day over fair women and brave men. Two new rikshaws were bought and given away according to the views of God as ascertained by the casting of lots. The hard-hearted owners of rickshaws were duly cursed by bell, book, and candle. Then all dispersed—the rikshawallas to certain selected spots and the patrons to enjoy their well-earned rest on the beach.

SCRUTATOR.

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Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore as a Maker of New India.

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

(continued)

So far as the conception of India's political destiny in the future is concerned Tagore points out what the true conception of nationalism is. He says: "A nation in the sense of a political and economic union of the people is that aspect which a whole population assumes when organised for an economic purpose. Society as such has no ulterior purpose and it is an end in itself. It is a spontaneous self-expression of man as a social being. It has also a political side but is only for a special purpose. It is for self-preservation. It is merely the side of power, and not of human ideals." Hence the state can best serve the interests of the people and the people can serve best the interests of the state by having a clear conception of the respective provinces and purpose of both. Among the various social institutions devised by the genius of a people for the attainment of perfect self-expression the state is in the position of *Primus Inter Pares*; and hence any scheme of national improvement which is exclusively pre-occupied with the betterment of the state while neglecting the other aspects of the social life may result in the loss of the highest arts of life. As Tagore says, "*when* this organisation of politics and commerce whose other name is the nation becomes all-powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life then it is an evil day for humanity." In another place in his book on Nationalism he says: "Trade, with the spirit of conflict and conquest as its origin is the centre of western nationalism. Its basis is not social co-operation. It has evolved a perfect organisation of power and not spiritual idealism." There is all the difference in the world between the conception of politics as *dharma* and the conception of politics as *Nithi* and the well-being of humanity as a whole and the nation's hold upon the eternal laws of righteousness depend upon whether a people adapt the one or the other conception of politics. It is this that is implied in the phrase 'the spiritualisation of politics.' And the extent to which we are prepared to act in this spirit in regard to the political future of India is the exact measure of our loyalty to our social and political ideals as concieved and expressed in the Scriptures dealing with the ideals of social and political life. In regard to Nationalism in India Tagore gives us the sane lofty conception of Nationalism in general which he has described above. But at the same time his conception of the forms of Indian Nationalism is not in full relation to the vital needs of the country in the present and immediate future. He says: "Our real problem in India is not political; it is social." Further, he says: "Each nation must be conscious of its mission and we in India must realise that we cut a poor figure when we are trying to be political." He says also: "It is my conviction, that my countrymen will truly gain India by uniting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity." He says again: "The educated Indian at present is trying to absorb some lessons from history contrary to the lessons of our ancestors." But our real duty is to pay equal and simultaneous attention to the development of India's political side and to the preservation of social harmony and conscious political idealism. In fact the former is by itself the force leading to the attainment of the latter. This was recognised and acted upon by the great heroes of Indian history, and spiritual life was based upon a proper conception of the social and political aspects of secular life and was at the same time a consecration of the secular life. The proper duty is therefore not to try to cease to be political but to have the saving graces of political idealism by which alone national political life will never cease to be a means of human well-being and true Godliness. Every patriotic worker in the field of political and social amelioration of India should however always bear in mind the great Truth enforced in the last stanza of the beautiful poem called the "Sunset of the Century" with which Tagore's valuable book on Nationalism closes. "Be not ashamed my brothers, to stand before the proud and powerful, with your white robe of simpleness; Let your crown be of humility, Your freedom, the freedom of the soul."

(To be continued)

Indian Reforms.
The Montagu Chelmsford Proposals.

A SUMMARY.

The following is a summary of the recommendations made by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy:—

PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIA OFFICE.

1. The control of Parliament and the Secretary of State to be modified.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State for India to be transferred to the Home Estimates.

3. The House of Commons to be asked to appoint a select committee for Indian affairs.

4. A Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India and on the India Office establishment.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

5. The Government of India to preserve indisputable authority on matters adjudged by it to be essential in the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government.

6. A Privy Council for India to be established.

The Executive.

7. To increase the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council.

8. To abolish the present statutory maximum for the Executive Council and the statutory qualification for seats.

9. To take power to appoint a limited number of members of the legislature to a position analogous to that of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in Great Britain.

The Legislature.

10. To replace the present Legislative Council of the Governor-General by a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly.

11. The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor-General who will be President, with power to nominate a Vice-President). Of the members, 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor-General. Of the nominated members, 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the Members of the Executive Council) to be officials.

The life of each Council of State to be 5 years.

The Governor-General in Council to frame regulations as to the qualifications for membership of the Council of State.

12. The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members, not less than one-third to be non-officials.

The President of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor-General.

13. Official members of the Council of State to be eligible also for nomination to the Legislative Assembly.

14. The Governor-General to have power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

15. The following procedure to be adopted for legislation.

A. Government bills: ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the Assembly, and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is inacceptable to the Assembly, the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor-General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interests of peace and order or good government (including in this term sound financial administration) in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage, the Governor-General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above, to refer it *de novo*, to the Council of State. The Governor-General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance and to pass it through the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly.

B. Private bills: to be introduced in the Chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a bill emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration the Governor-General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State: the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council.

16. Resolutions to have effect only as recommendations.

17. The Governor-General and the Crown to retain their respective powers of assent, reservation, or disallowance.

18. The Governor-General to retain his existing power of making Ordinances and the Governor-General in Council his power of making Regulations.

19. Nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.

20. Any member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. The Governor-General not to disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest, but power to be retained to disallow a question on the ground that the putting of it is inconsistent with the public interest.

21. Rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be made in the first instance by the Governor-General in Council. The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to be entitled to modify their rules, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General. In each case such modifications not to require the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and not to be laid before Parliament.

22. Joint Standing Committees of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be associated with as many departments of Government as possible. The Governor-General in Council to decide with which departments Standing Committees can be associated and the head of the department concerned to decide what matters shall be referred to the Standing Committee. Two-thirds of each Standing Committee to be elected by ballot by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, one-third to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council.

THE PROVINCES.

23. The Provincial Governments to be given the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative and financial matters which is compatible with the due discharge of their own responsibilities by the Government of India.

24. Responsible government in the provinces to be attained first by the devolution of responsibility in certain subjects called hereafter the transferred subjects (all other subjects being called reserved subjects), and then by gradually increasing this devolution by successive stages until complete responsibility is reached.

Provincial Executives.

25. The Executive Government in a province to consist of a Governor and Executive Council, a Minister or Ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and an additional Member or Members without portfolios.

26. The Executive Council to consist of two members, one of whom will be an Indian.

Reserved subjects to be in the charge of the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council.

27. The Minister or Ministers to be appointed for the term of the Legislative Council, and to have charge of the transferred subjects.

28. The additional Member or Members to be appointed by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only.

29. The Government thus constituted to deliberate generally as a whole, but the Governor to have power to summon either part of his Government to deliberate with him separately. Decision on reserved subjects and on the supply for them in the provincial budget to rest with the Governor and his Executive Council: decisions on transferred subjects and the supply for them with the Governor and the Ministers.

30. Power to be taken to appoint a limited number of members of the Legislative Council to a position analogous to that of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in Great Britain.

Provincial Legislatures.

31. In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible, (2) nominated including (*a*) official and (*b*) non-official members, (3) ex-officio members. The franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council to be determined by regulations to be made on the advice of the Committee described in paragraph 53 by the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, and laid before Parliament.

32. The Governor to be President of the Legislative Council with power to appoint a Vice-President.

33. The Governor to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council.

34. Resolutions (except on the budget) to have effect only as recommendations.

35. Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.

36. Any members of the Legislative Council to be entitled to ask supplementary questions.

37. The existing rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business to continue, but the Legislative Council to have power to modify them with the sanction of the Governor.

38. Standing Committees of the Legislative Council to be formed and attached to each department, or to groups of departments. These Committees to consist of members elected by the Legislative Council, of the heads of the departments concerned, and the Member or Minister, who would preside.

39. Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs.

40. The Governor to have power to certify that a Bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the Gazette. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a grand committee: but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the Bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject.

The Governor not to certify a Bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council.

41. The Grand Committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject-matter of the Bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent. of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials.

42. The Bill as passed in Grand Committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may again discuss it generally within such time limits as may be laid down, but may not amend it except on the motion of a Member of the Executive Council or reject it. After such discussion the Bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State.

43. Any Member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction, or any amendment when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the bill, clause, or amendment. If he certifies the bill clause, or amendment, the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee.

44. All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty.

45. The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment.

46. The Governor-General to have power to reserve provincial Acts.

Finance.

47. A complete separation to be made between Indian and provincial heads of revenue.

48. Provincial contributions to the Government of India to be the first charge on provincial revenues.

49. Provincial Governments to have certain powers of taxation and of borrowing.

50. The budget to be laid before the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council refuses to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects the Governor-in-Council to have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment, on the Governer's certifying that, for reasons to be stated, such restoration is in his opinion essential either to the peace or tranquility of the province or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. Except in so far as he exercises this power, the budget to be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council.

Local Self-Government.

51. Complete popular control in local bodies to be established as far as possible.

Modification of Provincial Constitutions.

52. Five years after the first meeting of the new Councils the Government of India to consider any applications addressed to it by a provincial Government or a provincial Legislative Council for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects. In such cases the Government of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, to have power to transfer any reserved subject, or in case of serious maladministration to remove to the reserved list any subjects already transferred and to have power also to order that the salary of the Ministers

shall be specifically voted each year by the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council to have the right of deciding at the same or any subsequ nt time by resolution that such salary be specifically voted yearly.

PRELIMINARY ACTION.

53. A Committee to be appointed, consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, an official, and an Indian non-official. This Committee to advise on the question of the separation of Indian from provincial functions, and to recommend which of the functions assigned to the province should be transferred subjects. An official and an Indian non-official in each province, which it is at the time examining, to be added to the Committee.

54. A Second Committee to be appointed, consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, two officials, and two Indian non-officials, to examine constituencies, franchises and the composition of the Legislative Council in each Province, and of the Legislative Assembly. An official and an Indian non-official in each Province, which it is at the time examining, to be added to the Committee.

55. The two Committees to have power to meet and confer.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.

56. A Commission to be appointed ten years after the first meeting of the new legislative bodies to review the constitutional position both as regards the Government of India and the provinces. The names of the commissioners to be submitted for the approval of Parliament. Similar commissions to be appointed at intervals of not more than twelve years.

THE NATIVE STATES.

57. To establish a Council of Princes.

58. The Council of Princes to appoint a Standing committee.

59. The Viceroy in his discretion to appoint a commission, composed of a High Court Judge and one nominee of each of the parties, to advise in case of disputes between States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India.

60. Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a Ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities or powers, or of debarring from succession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a Commission to advise consisting of a High Court Judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him.

61. All States possessing full internal powers to have direct relations with the Government of India.

62. Relations with Native States to be excluded from transfer to the control of Provincial Legislative Councils.

63. Arrangements to be made for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of Princes and the Council of State on matters of common interest.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished.

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India.

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, te be fixed for all these services.

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by 1½ per cent. until the position is reviewed by the Commission (paragraph 55).

68. Rates of pay to be reconsidered with reference to the rise in the cost of living and the need for maintaining the standard of recruitment. Incremental time-scales to be introduced generally and increments to continue until the superior grade is attained. The maximum of ordinary pension to be raised to Rs. 6,000 payable at the rate of 1*s*. 9*d*. to the rupee, with special pensions for certain high appointments. Indian Civil Service annuities to be made non-contributory but contributions to continue to be funded. Leave rules to be reconsidered with a view to greater elasticity, reduction of excessive amounts of leave admissible. and concession of reduced leave on full pay. The accumulation of privilege leave up to four months to be considered.

69. A rate of pay based on recruitment in India to be fixed for all publie services, but a suitable allowance to be granted to persons recruited in Europe or on account of qualifications obtained in Europe, and the converse principle to be applied to Indians employed in Europe.

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